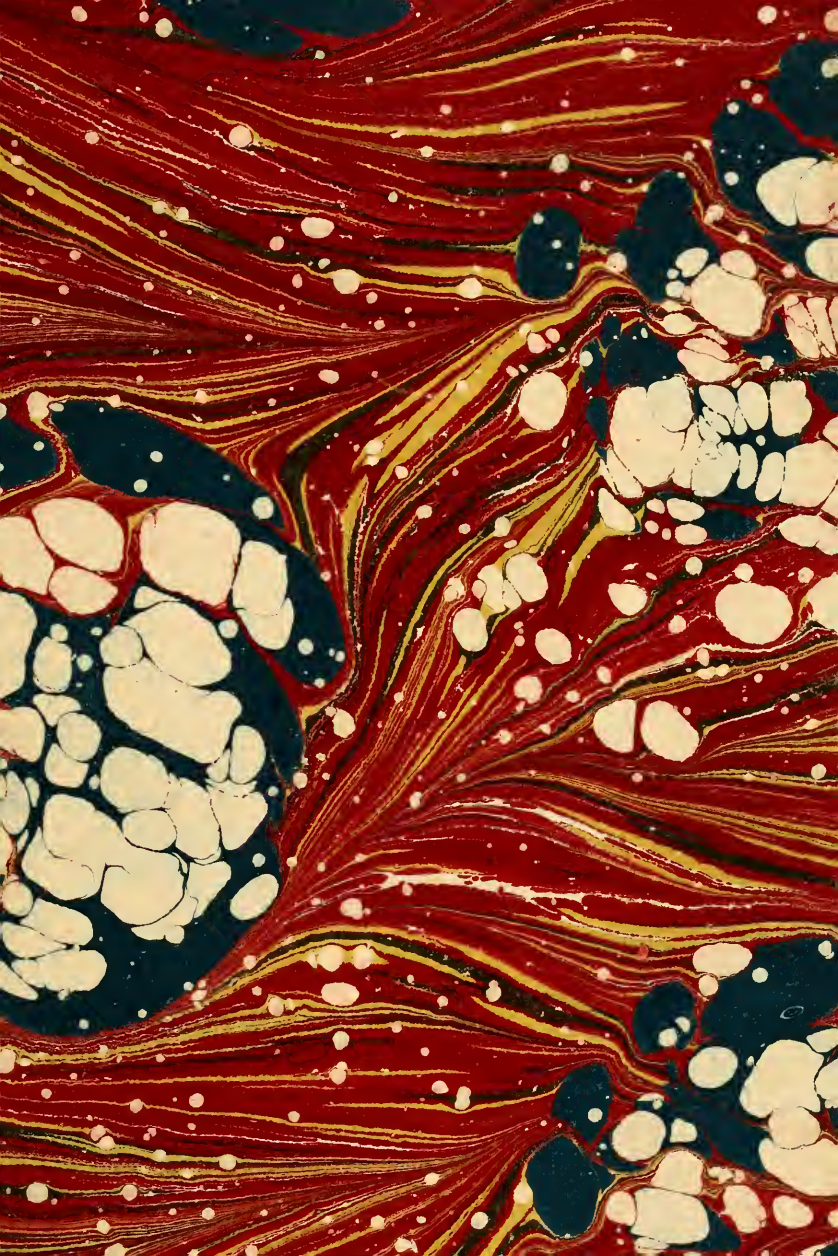


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COL. CHRISTOPHER GREENE

JOURNAL
OF THE
EXPEDITION AGAINST QUEBEC,

UNDER COMMAND OF COL. BENEDICT ARNOLD,

IN THE YEAR 1775,

BY

MAJ. RETURN J. MEIGS,

WITH

AN INTRODUCTION AND NOTES,

BY

CHARLES I. BUSHNELL.



New York :
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INTRODUCTION.



ISTORY, nowhere, upon its checkered page, records an enterprise of greater perseverance, daring and intrepidity than that of Arnold's Expedition to Quebec. When we consider the extreme difficulties and dangers encountered by that hardy band, unused to arms, the privations and sufferings they endured, and the firmness evinced by them under every trial, how amazing does it appear ! Engaging in the service for the common cause of liberty, they marched through a dense wilderness, interrupted by swamps, cataracts, precipices and mountains, in the midst of a Canadian winter, remarka-

ble for its unusual severity : surely, the expedition was a most wonderful one, and the fame of those men who were engaged in it, must and ever will shine upon history's brightest page.

In the following Journal, which appears now, for the first time, in an independent form, will be found a daily record of events occurring during that memorable campaign. The interest of the subject is in no degree lost by the lapse of time. By the historical student it will ever be appreciated, and the patriotic American will always recur to that brilliant exploit, with feelings of pride and admiration.

Return J. Meigs, the author of the Journal, was born in Middletown, State of Connecticut, on the 28th day of December, 1740. In the year 1775, immediately after the battle of Lexington, he marched with a company of light infantry to the neighborhood of Boston. With the rank of Major, he accompanied Arnold through the wilderness of Maine, and in the assault on Quebec by Montgomery and Arnold, at the close of the year, he was made prisoner with Captains Morgan and Dearborn. In

the year 1776, he was exchanged and returned home, and in the year following, he was promoted to the rank of Colonel.

His expedition from Guilford to Long Island, in the month of May, 1777, was one of the most brilliant enterprises of the war, for which he received the thanks of Congress and an elegant sword. At the head of a few companies, he attacked the British troops at Sag Harbor, with fixed bayonets, and in spite of the resistance of the soldiers, and of the crews of the enemy's vessels, he destroyed twelve brigs and sloops, and much stores and forage, and brought off ninety prisoners, among whom were the officer in command, with most of the masters and crews of the vessels destroyed, returning to Guilford, a distance of ninety miles, within twenty-five hours after he had left it, without the loss of a man.

In the year 1779, he commanded a regiment under Wayne at the storming of Stony Point, and was honorably mentioned by Washington. In the year 1788 or 1789, he moved to the West, and was one of the first settlers of Ohio, then a wilderness.

The latter part of his life was devoted to the amelioration of the condition of the aborigines of the country as agent of the Cherokee station, and his official course obtained for him the highest confidence of that nation, by whom he was emphatically denominated "The White Path." Col. Meigs was a pattern of excellence as a patriot, a philanthropist and a Christian. In all the vicissitudes of fortune, the duties of religion were strictly observed, and its precepts strikingly exemplified. He died at the Cherokee Agency on January 28, 1823, aged 82 years. His remains were interred with the honors of war, amidst a concourse of sincere friends and in the anguish of undissembled sorrow.





JOURNAL.



JOURNAL of occurrences, which happened within the circle of my observation, in the detachment commanded by COL. BENEDICT ARNOLD,*⁽¹⁾ consisting of two battalions, which were detached from the army at Cambridge, in the year 1775.

Field Officers' names. COL. CHRISTOPHER GREEN. ⁽²⁾

COL. ROGER ENOS. ⁽³⁾ MAJ. RETURN J. MEIGS. ⁽⁴⁾

MAJ. TIMOTHY BIGELOW. ⁽⁵⁾

1775.

Sept. 9th. I marched from Roxbury, (where I had been stationed the summer,) to Cambridge.

10th, 11th, 12th. At Cambridge, preparing for our march.

13th. In the evening marched to Mystick.

* See Appendix, Note I.

14th. Continued our march through the towns of Malden, Lynn and Salem, and encamped in Danvers.

15th. In the morning continued our march through the towns of Beverly and Wendham, and encamped at Rowley.

16th. In the morning, continued our march, and at 10 o'clock, A. M., arrived at Newburyport, and encamped.

17. Sunday, attended divine service at the Rev. Mr. Parson's (6) meeting at Newburyport. Dined at Mr. Nathaniel Tracy's. (7) Weather fine.

18th. Preparing to embark. Dined at Mr. Dalton's.* (8) Weather fine.

19th. Embarked our whole detachment, consisting of 10 companies of musketmen and 3 companies of rifle-men, amounting to 1,100 men on board 10 transports. I embarked myself on board the sloop Britannia. The fleet came to sail at 10 o'clock, A. M., and sailed out of the harbour and lay to till one o'clock, P. M., when we received orders to sail for the river Kennebeck, fifty leagues from Newburyport—received with our sailing orders the following for signals, viz.

1st signal. For speaking with the whole fleet. Ensign at maintopmast head.

2d signal. For chasing a sail. Ensign at foretopmast head.

* Tristram Dalton.

3d signal. For heaving to. Lanthorn at maintopmast head, and two guns if head on shore, and three if off shore.

4th signal. For making sail in the night. Lanthorn at mast-head, and 4 guns ; in the day, jack at foretopmast head.

5th signal. For dispersing, and every vessel making the nearest harbour. Ensign at mainpeak.

6th signal. For boarding any vessel. Jack at maintopmast head, and the whole fleet drawn up in a line, as near as possible.

The wind being fair and very fresh I was very sea-sick.

20th. In the morning we made the mouth of Kennebeck right ahead, which we soon entered. The mouth of the river is narrow. We were hailed from the shore by a number of men under arms, which were stationed there. They were answered, that we were Continental troops, and that we wanted a pilot. They immediately sent one on board. The wind and tide favouring us, we proceeded up the river ; 5 miles from the mouth lies an island called Rousack. Upon this island is a handsome meeting-house, and very good dwelling houses. The river to this island of very unequal width, from one mile to a quarter of a mile wide, the water deep, great tides, the shores generally rocky ; ten miles from the mouth some elegant buildings, at a place called Georgetown ; twenty miles from the mouth is a very large bay, called Merry-meeting Bay ; 25 miles from the mouth an island, called Swan Island. A little above this island we came to anchor, opposite to Pownalborough, where is a block-house. I would mention here, that this day makes fourteen only, since the orders

were first given for building 200 battoes, collecting provisions for and levying 1,100 men, and marching them to this place, viz., Gardiner's Town, which is great dispatch.

21st. All day at Gardiner's Town; weather fine.

22d. Embarked on board battoes—proceeded up the river toward evening. I lodged at the house of Mr. North, and was very agreeably entertained.

23d. In the morning proceeded up the river, about 6 miles, to Fort Western, where an unhappy accident happened in the evening. A number of soldiers, being in a private house, some words produced a quarrel, and one McCormick, being turned out of the house, immediately discharged his gun into the house, and shot a man through his body, of which he soon expired. McCormick was tried by a Court Martial, and received sentence of death; but denied the crime till he was brought to the place of execution, when he confessed the crime. But for some reasons he was reprieved till the pleasure of General Washington could be known. (9)

24, 25, and 26th. At Fort Western, (10) preparing for our tour to Quebec. Fort Western stands on the east side of the river Kennebeck, and consists of 2 block-houses, and a large house, 100 feet long, which were enclosed only with pickets. This house is the property of ——— Howard, Esq., where we were exceedingly well entertained. Captain Morgan, (11) with 3

companies of riflemen embarked, in battoes, with orders to proceed with all expedition to the great carrying-place, and clear the road, while the other divisions came up.

26th. Colonel Green embarked on board battoes three companies of musketmen, with whom went Major Bigelow, on their tour to Canada.

27th. At three o'clock, P. M., I embarked on board my battoe with the third division of the army, consisting of 4 companies of musketmen, with 45 days' provision, and proceeded up the river, hoping for the protection of a kind Providence. We encamped at evening 4 miles from Fort Western; the water some part of the way rapid. I had forgot to mention, that the navigation for vessels is good to Fort Western, which is 50 miles from the mouth.

28th. Proceeded up the river—the stream very rapid, and the bottom and shores rocky.

29th. In the morning continued our route up the river. At 11 o'clock, A. M., arrived at Fort Halifax,* which stands on a point of land between the river Kennebeck and the river Sebaste-cook. This fort consists of two large block-houses, and a large barrack, which is enclosed with a picket fort. I tarried half an

* Fort Halifax was built by Mr. Shirley in 1754, to awe the Indians and cover the frontiers of New England.

hour at the fort—then crossed the river to a carrying-place, which is 97 rods carriage—then proceeded up the river, which falls very rapidly over a rocky bottom 5 miles, and encamped. The above falls are Toconock.

30th. Proceeded up the river 7 miles, and encamped, where Colonel Arnold joined us at night, and encamped with us.

October 1st. Proceeded up the river 9 miles, and encamped. The land we passed this day generally very good; the timber, butternut, beech, hemlock, white pine, red cedar, &c.

2d. In the morning proceeded up the river, and at 10 o'clock arrived at Seohegin Falls, where is a carrying-place of 250 paces, which lies across a small island in the river. Here I waited for my division to come up, and encamped on the west side the river, opposite the island, with Captain Goodrich. It rained in the night. I turned out, and put on my clothes, and lay down again, and slept well till morning. Our course in general, from the mouth of the river to this place, has been from north to northeast.

3d. Proceeded up the river to Norridgewalk. On my way I called at a house, where I saw a child 14 months old. This is the first white child born in Norridgewalk. (12) At 7 o'clock in the evening, a little below Norridgewalk, my battoe filled with water, going up the falls. Here I lost my kettle, butter and sugar, a loss not to be replaced here. At Norridgewalk are to

be seen the vestiges of an Indian fort and chapel, and a priest's grave.* (13) There appears to have been some intrenchment, and a covered way through the bank of the river for the convenience of getting water. This must have been a considerable seat of the natives, as there are large Indian fields cleared. This day I wrote to Mrs. Meigs, to my brother, and Ensign Warner. Opposite to Norridgewalk, which lies on the east side the river, a river comes in from the westward, called Sandy River.

4th. I proceeded up the river about one mile, and crossed the river, where is a carrying-place of one mile and a quarter ; here I came up with the second division, commanded by Col. Green.

5th. All day at the carrying-place. At evening moved one company up the river one mile, where they encamped, waiting for the other companies of my division.

6th. Still at the carrying-place, getting over boats and provisions. At 4 o'clock, P. M., I proceeded up the river 5 miles and encamped.

7th. Continued our march up the river, and at 12 o'clock arrived at Carratuncas carrying-place. Here the river is confined between two rocks, not more than 40 rods wide, which lie in piles 40 rods in length on each side the river. These rocks are polished curiously in some places, by the swift running of the water. The carrying-place here is 433 paces in length.

* The grave of Sebastian Ralle, the French Jesuit missionary.

8th. All day at the carrying-place at Carratuncas—weather very rainy. Captain Dearborn's (14) company passed the carrying-place this day, at 3 o'clock, P. M.

9th. Captain Ward's (15) company passed the carrying-place this day at 12 o'clock. At one o'clock, P. M., I left the carrying-place, and proceeded up the river, about 4 miles, and encamped. The stream these 4 miles very rapid, and in some places very shoal, being divided by a number of islands, which appear fine land. From this encampment some high mountains rise to our view to the northward.

10th. Proceeded up the river, which continues its course northwest between two high mountains, and encamped at the great carrying-place, which is $12\frac{1}{2}$ miles across, including three ponds, which we are obliged to pass.

11th. I crossed the great carrying-place, as far as the third pond. There had the pleasure to discover Lient. Steel (16) and party, who had been sent forward on a reconnoitering command, as far as Chaudiere Pond. They discovered nothing with regard to the enemy. I returned back to the second pond, and lodged with Col. Green.

12th. In the morning I repassed the second and first pond, and went to the river and gave orders, which I received from Col. Arnold, for building a block-house, and then returned and crossed the first pond and encamped. In these ponds we found great

plenty of trout. Col. Enos arrived this day at the great carrying-place, with the 4th division of the army, consisting of three companies of musketmen.

13th. Employed in carrying our boats and provision across the first pond and the second portage. I went myself once across the third portage, and returned back to the east side of the second portage, and encamped with Col. Arnold—the wind so high, that the boats could not cross the third pond. To this time our men have killed four moose, which is excellent meat.

14th. At eleven o'clock, I repassed the first pond to see Capt. Dearborn's and Capt. Ward's companies over. Last night, a tree, blown down by the wind, fell upon one of our men and bruised him in such a manner, that his life is despaired of. In the evening I returned back to the 2d portage, and encamped with Capt. Ward.

15th. This morning orders were given, that the allowance should be $\frac{3}{4}$ lb. pork and $\frac{3}{4}$ lb. flour per man per diem. At 2 o'clock I crossed the 3d pond and encamped in a cedar swamp. This 3d pond is about nine miles in circumference, and is surrounded with cedar timber. This pond is much larger than the other two.

16th. In the morning I went forward to the Dead River, and took part of Capt. Goodrich's company, and returned to the third pond, where I met Capt. Ward's company. At evening, I returned to the Dead River, marched one mile up the river, and encamped with Capt. Hanchet.

17th. In the morning I set out with Capt. Hanchet to reconnoitre a very high mountain that lies about 10 miles from our encampment. But we were too late in the day, and returned towards evening without being able to ascend the mountain.

18th. In the morning ordered eight men to kill two oxen, which we had drove with great difficulty to this place, and to bring forward five-quarters to the detachment that was gone forward, and to leave three-quarters under a guard for Col. Enos's division. Then I proceeded up the river with my division about 20 miles, the water running with a very gentle current, and encamped on the south side the river. Here I joined Col. Arnold and Col. Green's division. The land we passed this day very fine—thinly timbered, and mostly covered with grass as high as a man's waist.

19th. In the morning it rained. We tarried in our camp till 2 o'clock, P. M. Then continued our route up the river 5 miles, and encamped on the north side the river. This afternoon we passed three small falls; the current, except the fall, very gentle. This day I received orders from Col. Arnold to proceed with my division, with the greatest expedition, to Chaudiere River, and when arrived there, to make up our cartridges, and wait for the rear division, and furnish a number of pioneers, under command of Mr. Ayres, to clear the carrying-place.

20th. Proceeded up the river, passed several small falls and one

portage, only 13 rods across, and encamped at evening. Weather rainy all day.

21st. In the morning proceeded up the river about 3 miles, to a carrying-place 35 perches across. Then continued our route up the river about 2 miles to a portage 30 perches across, where we encamped.

22d. Continued our route up the river about three miles. In our way we passed 2 portages, or carrying-places, each 74 perches. Our whole course this day is only 3 miles, owing to the extraordinary rise of the river the last night. In some parts of the river the water rose 8 feet perpendicular, and in many places overflowed its banks, and filled the country with water, which made it very difficult for our men that were on shore to march.

23d. In the morning continued the march, though very slow, on account of the rapidity of the stream. A number of our men that marched on the shore, marched up a river that came in from the westward, mistaking it for the main river, which, as soon as we discovered, we despatched some boats after them. The river now falls fast. Encamped this evening at a carrying-place, 15 perches across. Here a council was held, in which it was resolved that a captain, with 50 men, should march with all despatch by land to Chaudiere pond, and that the sick of my division and Captain Morgan's, should return back to Cambridge. At this place the stream is very rapid, in passing which, five or

six battoes filled and upset, by which we lost several barrels of provisions, a number of guns, some clothes and cash.

24th. Proceeded up the river, though with great fatigue, the water being very rapid. Our whole course this day only 4 miles, when we encamped. This day I wrote to Mrs. Meigs by the officer that returned with the sick.

25th. Continued our route up the river, about six miles and encamped; the stream very rapid. In our way we passed 3 carrying-places, two of them 4 rods each, the other 90 rods.

26th. Continued our route, and soon entered a pond, about two miles across, and passed through a narrow strait, only $2\frac{1}{2}$ perches wide, about 4 rods long; then entered another small pond about a mile over, and then through a narrow strait, about a mile and a half long, to a third pond, three miles wide; then passed through a narrow strait, and entered a fourth pond, about a quarter of a mile wide; then entered a narrow, crooked river about three miles in length, to a carrying-place, 15 perches across, to a pond about 100 perches across, and encamped on the north-west side, upon a high hill, which is a carrying-place. These ponds are surrounded with mountains.

27th. In the morning continued our route across the carrying-place, which is one mile, to a pond 50 rods wide, to a carrying-place, 44 perches long, to a pond about two miles wide, to a car-

rying-place of 4 miles and 60 perches. This carrying-place lies across the height of land. (This high land runs through the colonies to Georgia.) It is about two miles from the last-mentioned pond to the height, where the streams all run the reverse of the rivers we came up in. We encamped this evening on the height of land.

28th. In the morning crossed the heights to Chaudiere River. Made division of our provisions and ammunition, and marched back upon the height and encamped. Here I delivered the following sums of money to the following persons: to Col. Green 500 dollars, to Major Bigelow 501 do., and paid Mr. Gatchel * 44 dollars; paid to Mr. Berry £4 5s. lawful money.

29th. Continued our march by land towards Quebec. At one o'clock we came to Nepress Lake, which we then supposed to be Ammeguntick Lake, but were mistaken. We continued our march till night, and encamped on the bank of Lake Nepress, where there had been an Indian camp.

30th. Marched through the woods about 15 miles, and encamped near the north end of Ammeguntic Lake.

November 1st. Continued our march through the woods—the marching this day exceedingly bad. This day I passed a number of soldiers who had no provisions, and some that were sick, and not in my power to help or relieve them, except to encourage

* Nehemiah Gatchel, employed as a guide.

them. One or two dogs were killed, which the distressed soldiers eat with good appetite, even the feet and skins. (17) This day, on our march upon the banks of the Chaudiere, we saw several boats, which were split upon the rocks, and one of Captain Morgan's men was drowned.* The travelling this day and yesterday very bad, over mountains and morasses.

2d. In the morning continued our march on the banks of the Chaudiere. The marching this day better than we have had. The river grows wider and runs very quick, and some places very shallow. We passed this day several small islands—the weather this day exceeding fine, clear, and as warm as ever I saw at this season in New England.

3d. Continued our march on the banks of the Chaudiere. At 12 o'clock we met provisions, to the inexpressible joy of our soldiers, who were near starving. After refreshing ourselves, marched a few miles and encamped.

4th. In the morning continued our march. At 11 o'clock arrived at a French house, and were hospitably used. This is the first house I saw for 31 days, having been that time in a rough, barren, uninhabited wilderness, where we never saw human being, except our own men. Immediately after our arrival, we were supplied with fresh beef, fowls, butter, pheasants, and vegetables. This settlement is called Sertigan. It lies 25 leagues from Quebec.

* The name of this man was George Innis. Capt. Morgan himself narrowly escaped the same fate.

5th. Marched down to the parish of St. Mary's—the country thinly settled—the people kind. They supply us with plenty of provisions.

6th, 7th, 8th and 9th. I was on business up and down the country on each side the river—the Canadians very hospitable. This day our men, that were gone forward to Point Levi, made prisoner of Mr. M'Kenzie, a midshipman of the Hunter sloop-of-war. This night I lodged at St. Henry's.

10th. I marched down to point Levi, and joined the detachment.

11th, 12th and 13th. I was at Point Levi. Nothing extraordinary happened, except that a deserter came in to us from Quebec, by whom we are informed that Col. M'Lean (18) had arrived from Sorel with his regiment. I had forgot to mention that the Lizard frigate arrived a few days before our arrival at Point Levi. On the evening of this day, at nine o'clock, we began to embark our men on board 35 canoes, and at 4 o'clock in the morning we got over and landed about 500 men, entirely undiscovered, although two men-of-war were stationed to prevent us. We landed at the same place that General Wolfe did, in a small cove, which is now called *Wolfe's Cove*. Soon after our landing, a barge from the Lizard frigate came rowing up the river. We hailed her, and ordered her to come in to the shore. They refusing, we fired upon them. They pushed off shore, and

cried out. After parading our men on the heights, and sending a reconnoitering party towards the city, and placing sentries, we marched across the plains of Abram, and took possession of a large house, which was formerly owned by General Murray, (19) and other houses adjacent, which were fine accommodations for our troops.

14th. This morning employed in placing proper guards on the different roads to cut off the communication between the city and country. At 12 o'clock the enemy surprised one of our advanced sentries and made him prisoner. (20) The guard soon discovered the enemy, and pursued, but were not able to overtake them. We rallied the main body, and marched upon the heights near the city, and gave them three huzzas, and marched our men fairly in their view ; but they did not choose to come out to us. They gave us a few shot from the ramparts. We then returned to our camp. This afternoon they set fire to the suburbs, and burned several houses. This evening Col. Arnold sent a flag to the town, with a demand of the garrison, in the name and behalf of the United Colonies. As the flag approached the walls, he was fired upon, contrary to all rule or custom on such occasions. We constantly lie on our arms to prevent surprise. We are informed by a gentleman from Quebec, that we might expect an attack very soon, from Quebec.

15th. The commanding officer this day sent into the town a flag, concluding that the firing on our flag yesterday was through

mistake ; but he was treated in the same manner as yesterday, on which he returned. An express went off to General Montgomery this morning. About 12 o'clock we were alarmed with a report, that troops in town were coming out to attack us. We turned out to meet them ; but it proved a false report.

16th. This morning it is reported, that Montreal surrendered to General Montgomery the last Sabbath, and that the shipping were taken. (21) One of our men, a sergeant in one of the rifle companies, received a shot from a cannon in one of his legs, which was shattered in such a manner, that amputation was necessary. This day we sent a company of men and took possession of the general hospital. The Canadians are constantly coming in to express their satisfaction at our coming into the country.

17th. The sergeant that was wounded yesterday, died this morning, with great composure and resignation. We have this morning a confirmation of the surrender of Montreal to General Montgomery. A soldier just came in from Quebec—no intelligence extraordinary from him—a party of our men gone over to Point Levi with boats, to bring over a part of our detachment that were left there with provisions. Weather pleasant.

18th. We have orders to parade to-morrow morning at 3 o'clock.

19th. Early in the morning decamped, and marched up to

Point aux Trembles, about 7 leagues from Quebec. The country through which we marched thick settled; every few miles a handsome little chapel. We have with us 7 prisoners and 2 deserters.

20th. An express came in this morning from General Montgomery at Montreal. The contents are, that the king's troops had abandoned the town in the shipping, and that he was about to attack them with row gallies and boats, with artillery mounted in them; and that he should immediately join our detachment with men and artillery. We have now an express ready to return to Montreal, by which conveyance I wrote to my family.

21st. The curate of the parish at Point aux Trembles dines this day at head quarters. I wrote this day to my honored father and to Mrs, Meigs, by Mr. William Grubb.

22d. An express arrived from Montreal, who informs, that all the shipping there were taken last Sabbath evening, and that General Montgomery was about to march for Quebec.

23d. An express arrived from Montreal, by whom we have intelligence, that General Montgomery was on his march yesterday, and that he had sent clothing (23) the 20th instant for our troops. One of our men came in from the woods, who had been left behind, who says, that himself, with one more, killed a horse, and lived on his flesh several days.

24th. This morning the Hunter sloop of war and 3 other armed vessels appeared in sight. An express now going to meet the troops that are coming down from Montreal.

25th. The Hunter sloop, a large scow, and an armed schooner, came to anchor opposite our quarters. This morning a number of men were sent up the river, in a canoe to meet the troops that are coming down.

26th. A number of gentlemen came in this morning from Quebec. I wrote to my father, and two letters to Mrs. Meigs.

27th, We are informed that the house of Major Caldwell, in which our troops were quartered in St. Foy's, is burned.

28th. Colonel Arnold gone up to Jackarty to hasten down the ammunition.

29th. Captain Morgan, who had been sent down to the neighborhood of Quebec, sent up to our quarters two prisoners, which he took in the suburbs.

30th. This day an express is gone to meet General Montgomery. Captain Duggin is arrived with ammunition and provisions.

1st December. General Montgomery arrived this day at one o'clock, with three armed schooners, with men, artillery, ammunition and provision, to the great joy of our detachment. To-

wards evening our detachment turned out, and marched down to the General's quarters in two battalions, and was there reviewed. The General complimented us on our appearance.

2d. In the morning I assisted in sending down our field artillery by land. The large cannon are ordered down in battoes, which, when landed, the battoes are to go to Point Levi for the scaling ladders.

3d. Major Brown (24) arrived from Sorel. The soldiers drawing their clothing.

4th. We marched at 12 o'clock for our camp before Quebec. At evening quartered at the house of the curate of the parish of St. Augustine. We were entertained with hospitality and elegance. The curate's name, Michael Beriau.

5th. In the morning proceeded on our march for St. Foy, our camp before Quebec, where we arrived about noon. This day I wrote to Mrs. Meigs.

6th. I wrote to Titus Hosmer, Esq., (25) at Middleton. Weather cold, with squalls of snow.

7th. Yesterday, I am informed, that our men took a sloop, with provisions and some cash.

8th. I sent my watch to repair. We received some shot from the city, but no person hurt.

9th. A party of 100 men are ordered to cover the train this evening, while they bombard the town. I went with this party—twenty seven shells were thrown into the town. This day we began to erect a battery before St. John's Gate.

10th. The enemy began to cannonade our camp early in the morning, and continued it till night. A party of our men are ordered into St. Roch this evening, to cover the train who are ordered there this evening, with five mortars and two field pieces. This evening 45 shells were thrown into the town. The enemy returned a few shells, and some 24 round and grape shot—none of our men were hurt, but a Canadian woman was shot through the body by a cannon shot from the enemy.

11th. The enemy kept up a faint cannonade upon our men this day. One of our men this morning lost his way in a snow storm, and found himself under the walls of the town, and was fired upon from the walls of the city, and wounded in the thigh, but came off. This evening we sent 45 shells into the town. I had the command of the working party at the battery this night. The weather extreme cold. I froze my feet. The enemy gave us a few shot and shells, but none of them struck the battery.

12th. The platforms nearly ready for the gun battery. Weather cold. One of our guns was rendered unfit for use by a shot from the enemy.

13th. We opened our battery. We had two men wounded

this day in the battery by a cannon shot from the town. Five men, of Col. Livingston's (26) regiment of Canadians, were wounded by a cannon shot, which went through a house in St. John's suburbs, where they were quartered.

14th. I have just now received an account that one of our men was killed in our battery, and several wounded this evening. We threw into the town 24 bombs. At the same time we were briskly cannonaded from the town.

15th. This morning, before sunrise, our battery began to play on the town, and continued one hour, and then ceased by order of the General; and a flag was sent to the city, but was refused admittance. After some discourse with the officer from the ramparts, the flag returned. At 2 o'clock, P.M., our battery began to play on the town. Our mortars at the same time began to play from the suburbs of St. Roch, and sent into the town 50 bombs. This day we had two men killed at our battery, and one of our guns damaged by a shot from the enemy. It is now in agitation to storm the town, which, if resolved, I hope will be undertaken with proper sense of the nature and importance of such an attack, and vigorously executed.

16th. The enemy this morning began to cannonade our quarters. Several shot struck the house. It was thought best to remove to other quarters. One of our men was shot through the body with a grape shot. His life is despaired of. I wrote

this day to Mrs. Meigs, by way of Montreal. This evening a council was held by all the commission officers of Col. Arnold's detachment, a large majority of which were for storming the garrison at Quebec, as soon as the men are provided with bayonets, spears, hatchets, and hand granadoes.

17th. All day at Capt. Hanchet's quarters. Nothing extraordinary happened. Weather cold and snowy.

18th. This morning I came to Mr. Devine's house to quarter. This day I wrote to Mrs. Meigs. Weather snowy.

19th. No occurrences extraordinary. Weather moderate and snowy.

20th. Weather cold. Several of our men have the small-pox at this time.

21st. We have orders that all our men wear hemlock sprigs in the'r hats, to distinguish them in the attack upon the works. I have wrote this day to Mrs. Meigs.

22d. Preparation is making, and things seem ripening fast for the assault upon the works of Quebec. The blessing of heaven attend the enterprise. This evening is celebrated as the anniversary of a happy event or circumstance in my life.

23d. This day the officers of our detachment met. The General attended to compose some matters, which were happily settled.

24th. I was on a general court-martial. Our chaplain * (27) preached a sermon in the chapel of the General Hospital, which is exceedingly elegant inside, and richly decorated with carvings and gilt work.

25th. Col. Arnold's detachment paraded this evening at Capt. Morgan's quarters, at 4 o'clock. His Honor, General Montgomery, attended, and addressed us on the subject of an assault upon the town of Quebec, in a sensible, spirited manner.

Memo. The sun sets on the 21st day of December, at 4 hours, 13 minutes, 21 seconds, and rises at 7 hours, 46 minutes, 41 seconds. The shortest day is 8 hours, 27 minutes, 38 seconds.

26th. Nothing material happened. Weather cold.

27th. This evening the troops assembled by order of the General, with design to make an attack on the works of Quebec; and were about to march, when an order from the General came for their returning to quarters, the weather not being thought proper for the attack.

28th. The following came out in general orders, viz :

“The General had the most sensible pleasure in seeing the good disposition with which the troops last night moved to the attack. It was with the greatest reluctance he found himself called upon by his duty, to repress their ardour; but he should hold himself answerable for the loss of those brave men whose lives might be saved by waiting for a favorable opportunity.

*Rev. Samuel Spring.

This day is the 35th anniversary of my birth. A variety of scenes have presented themselves in this short term—prosperity and adversity have alternately chequered my path. Some dangers escaped, and favors innumerable, demand a tribute of the warmest gratitude.

29th. This day dined with General Montgomery, and spent the afternoon and evening with him in an agreeable manner. This evening as a party of our men were executing a command, in the suburbs of St. Roch, were fired upon from the walls, and had one man wounded in the leg.

30th. This morning, between the hours of 1 and three o'clock in the morning, our train threw into the city about 30 shells, which produced a number of shells and a brisk cannonade, which continued all the day. As it had been determined to make an attack upon the city, the ladders being ready, and the weather stormy, which was thought best for our purpose, the troops are ordered to parade at two o'clock to-morrow morning.

31st. The troops assembled at 2 o'clock this morning. Those that were to make the attack by the way of Cape Diamond (28) assembled at the General's quarters, upon the Heights of Abraham, and were headed by General Montgomery. * Those that were to make the attack through the suburbs of St. Roch assem-

* The division of the army commanded by Gen. Montgomery, consisted of the 1st, 2d, 3d, and 4th battalions of New York troops, and part of Col. Easton's regiment.

bled at our guard house in St. Roch, and were headed by Col. Arnold; which were two battalions that were detached from the army at Cambridge and Roxbury.

Colonel Livingston, with a regiment of Canadians, and Major Brown with part of a regiment of Boston troops were to make a false attack upon the walls to the southward of St. John's Gate, and in the meantime set fire to the gate with combustibles prepared for that purpose.

These different bodies were to move to the attack from their respective places of assembly, exactly at 5 o'clock, but the different routes these bodies had to make, the depth of the snow, and other obstacles, prevented the execution of Colonel Livingston's command.

The General moved with his command, with a number of carpenters with him, to the pickets at Cape Diamond. The carpenters soon cut the pickets with saws, the General pulled them down with his own hand, and entered with his aid-de-camp, Mr. M'Pherson, Mr. Antill, the engineer, Capt. Cheeseman, and the carpenters and some others.

The troops did not follow, except a few who attacked the guard house. The enemy gave them a discharge of grape shot from their cannon, and of small arms at the same time—at which time the General, his aid-de-camp, Capt. Cheeseman, and some few others bravely fell. The firing then entirely ceased, the lights in the guard house were out, at which time, it is said, the troops might have entered. Col. Campbell (29) thought best to retreat, which they did, and carried off the wounded to the camp.

I now come to Col. Arnold's division, which was to proceed to the attack in the following manner. A lieutenant and 30 men were to march in front, as an advanced guard ; then the artillery company, with a field piece mounted on a sled ; then the main body, of which Capt. Morgan's company was first. The advanced party were to open when arrived near the battery, which was raised upon a wharf, which we were obliged to attack in our way ; and when our field piece had given them a shot or two, the advanced party were to rush forward, with the ladders, and force the battery above mentioned, while Capt. Morgan's company was to march round the wharf, if possible, on the ice. But the snow being deep, the piece of artillery was brought on very slow, and we were finally obliged to leave it behind ; and, to add to the delay, the main body were led wrong, there being no road, the way dark and intricate, among stores, houses, boats, and wharves, and harrassed at the same time with a constant fire of the enemy from the walls, which killed and wounded numbers of our men, without our being able to annoy them in the least from our situation. The field piece not coming up, the advanced party, with Captain Morgan's company, attacked the battery, some firing into the port holes or kind of embrasures, while others scaled the battery with ladders, and immediately took possession of it, with the guard, consisting of 30 men. This attack was executed with so much despatch, that the enemy only discharged one of their cannon. In this attack we lost but one or two men, the enemy lost about the same number. In the

attack of this battery, Col. Arnold received a wound in one of his legs, with a musket ball, and was carried to the General Hospital. As soon as the prisoners were taken care of, and a few men came up, which was perhaps half an hour, our men attempted the next barrier, but could not force it, as the main body were some time in coming up, occasioned by obstacles before mentioned. To add to this, that part of the army, commanded by General Montgomery, after his fall having retreated, gave the enemy an opportunity to turn their whole force and attention upon us, so that before our men attempted the second barrier, the enemy had got such a number of men behind the barrier and in the houses, that we were surrounded with such a fire from treble our numbers, that we found it impossible to force it, the enemy being under cover, while we were exposed to their fire. Here we found some brave officers and men. To add to our embarrassment, we lost the advantage of one of our companies, which was quartered on the north side of the river St. Charles, not having notice in season, who in endeavouring to join the main body, was surprised by a body of men, who made a sortie through Palace Gate, and the most of them made prisoners. Our men near the second barrier took possession of some houses, and kept up a fire from them for some time ; but as the body which sallied out of the Palace Gate, came upon the rear, and our numbers greatly lessened by our killed and wounded, it was thought best to retreat to the first battery which we had taken, which we did, with the greatest part of our men ; where upon a consulta-

tion of officers present, it was the unanimous opinion that it was impracticable to retreat, as we must have passed a great part of the way under the walls of the town, exposed to a line of fire for a quarter of a mile, and our rear exposed to the fire of the enemy at the same time, and the party that sallied through Palace Gate to oppose in front. We maintained our ground till about ten o'clock, and no hopes of relief, as General Montgomery's party were gone, and were at last obliged to surrender prisoners of war, which we did with great reluctance. The firing continued from half-past five till about ten o'clock, A.M.

By the best account we can obtain, our loss in killed and wounded amounts to about one hundred. The loss which the town sustained we cannot obtain. It must be small in comparison of ours, owing to their advantage of situation.

We had one captain and two lieutenants killed.

Wounded officers.—Colonel Arnold, Capt. Hubbard, Capt. Lamb, (30) Lieutenant Steel, Lieutenant Tisdale, Brigade-Major Ogden (31).

The loss in that part of the army commanded by the General, besides the General, his aid-de-camp, Mr. M'Pherson, and Capt. Cheeseman.

Privates, the number unknown—about four or five, I am since informed.

His honor, Brigadier-General Montgomery was shot through both his thighs and through his head. His body was taken up the next day. An elegant coffin was prepared, and he was decently interred the next Thursday after.

I am informed that when his body was taken up, his features were not in the least distorted, but his countenance appeared regular, serene, and placid, like the soul that late had animated it (32).

The General was tall and slender, well limbed, of genteel, easy, graceful, manly address. He had the voluntary love, esteem, and confidence of the whole army.

His death, though honourable, is lamented, not only as the death of an amiable, worthy friend, but as an experienced, brave general, whose country suffers greatly by such a loss at this time. The native goodness and rectitude of his heart might easily be seen in his actions. His sentiments, which appeared on every occasion, were fraught with that unaffected goodness, which plainly discovered the goodness of the heart from whence they flowed (33).

In the afternoon the officers were confined in the Seminary, and well accommodated with bedding. The soldiers were confined in the Recollets, or Jesuits' College. I dined this day with Capt. Law, the principal engineer, whom in the morning I made prisoner, but in a few hours I was, in my turn, made prisoner. Capt. Law has treated me with great politeness and ingenuity. In my return from Capt. Law's quarters, I called at the house of Mr. ——— Munroe, who politely invited me to live at his house, if I could have permission.

1776. January 1st. This whole day in the Seminary. The first day I knew confinement. I hope I shall bear it with becom-

ing fortitude. Major M'Kenzie brought General Montgomery's knee-buckles and Mr. M'Pherson's gold broach and made a present of them to me, which I highly value for the sake of their late worthy owners.

RETURN J. MEIGS.





NOTES.

(1) BENEDICT ARNOLD was born in Norwich, Conn., on the 3d day of January, 1741, and was brought up as an apothecary. He quitted his occupation for the sea, and was for some years employed as master and supercargo of a trading vessel. He embraced with enthusiasm the republican cause against the mother country, and took command of a company of volunteers at New Haven. His good conduct raised him to higher offices, and he was, on account of the boldness of his character, pointed out to make an attack, through pathless wilds, upon Canada. In his attempt to take Quebec by surprise, he received a wound in the leg, and upon the failure of his plans, and the death of Montgomery, he withdrew the remainder of his forces to Crown Point. He was afterwards employed in the flotilla on Lake Champlain, where he distinguished himself for his gallantry and intrepidity. In the battle of Saratoga, he took a most brilliant part, and he and Gen. Morgan were the master spirits to whom the country was indebted for the defeat and surrender of Burgoyne. The names of Arnold and Morgan can never be forgotten while Saratoga is remembered. When we think of the great and glorious services which Arnold rendered to the American cause

it must ever be a source of regret that his subsequent desertion of that cause, tarnished forever a name which otherwise would have shown with undying lustre. After the war, he went to England. He was afterwards in Nova Scotia, and in the West Indies, and was at one time taken prisoner by the French, but escaped in a way that none but one of his bold and daring character would have attempted. He died in London on the 14th day of June, 1801, aged 60 years.

(2) CHRISTOPHER GREEN was born in the town of Warwick, R. I., in the year 1737, and was the son of Philip Green, a gentleman of the first respectability, who was at one time Judge of the Court of Common Pleas in the county of Kent. Christopher received a good education, and was particularly attached to the study of Mathematics, in which he made great proficiency. He was elected at an early age to the Colonial Legislature, and was chosen Lieutenant of the Kentish Guards, and in 1775 was appointed Major. He was at the attack on Quebec, where he was made prisoner. He was afterwards promoted to Lieutenant-Colonel. His gallant repulse of the enemy at Red Bank, was one of the most brilliant events of the war, and he was, by the resolve of Congress, voted a sword, which was presented to his eldest son, Job Green, in 1786, by Gen. Knox, then Secretary of War. Col. Green was barbarously murdered by a party of refugees, on the Croton River, near Pine Bridge, Westchester County, New-York, on the 13th day of May, 1781, in the 44th year of his age. He left a widow, with three sons and four daughters.

(3) ROGER ENOS accompanied Arnold in his expedition to Quebec, as far as fifty miles up Dead River, in Maine, when he returned with his division, in consequence of the want of pro-

visions, and thus perhaps, the whole army was saved from destruction. He was put under arrest by order of Washington, and tried for quitting the detachment without orders from Arnold, but was acquitted on the score of provisions.

(4) MAJOR RETURN J. MEIGS obtained his name from the following interesting incident. His father, whose Christian name was Jonathan, and who was a resident of Middletown, when a young man, was seeking a companion for life, and paid his addresses to a fair Quakeress who resided in his neighborhood. He was unsuccessful in his suit, and was repeatedly rejected by his charmer. Jonathan, however, had some spirit and wisdom, as well as love, and persevered in his efforts. At length he told Ruth plainly and decidedly that it was his last visit. He mounted his horse, and was about leaving her forever, when the relenting lady beckoned to him to stop, saying, in a sweet tone of voice, "*Return, Jonathan ; return, Jonathan.*" These, the happiest words he had ever heard, made a lasting impression upon his mind, and induced him to call his first born son, "Return Jonathan."

The late Hon. Return J. Meigs, who held at different times the offices of Judge of the Supreme Court of Ohio, a Senator in Congress, Governor of Ohio, and Postmaster-General of the United States, and who died at Marietta, in March, 1826, was the son of Major Meigs, the author of this journal.

(5) TIMOTHY BIGELOW was the son of Daniel Bigelow. On hearing of the battle of Lexington, he marched at the head of a body of minute-men. He was engaged in the expedition against Quebec, and was taken prisoner. After his release he again entered the army, and was at Saratoga, Rhode Island, Valley Forge, and West Point. He was an original grantor of the

town of Montpelier, Vt. As a benefactor of Leicester Academy, he is honored by its friends. He died in Worcester, Mass., on the 31st day of March, 1790, aged 50 years.

(6) REV. JONATHAN PARSONS was born in West Springfield, Mass., on the 30th day of November, 1705, and graduated at Yale College in 1729. He was ordained, in 1730, minister at Lyme, Conn., where he continued several years. The last thirty years of his life were spent at Newburyport, Mass, in one of the largest congregations in America. His labors were incessant, and he sometimes sunk under his exertions. He was eminent as a scholar, and was accounted a dexterous and masterly reasoner. His invention was fruitful, his imagination rich, his voice clear and commanding, varying with every varying passion, now forcible, majestic, terrifying, and now soft, persuasive, and melting. His church is now called the Old South Church of Newburyport. He died on the 19th day of July, 1776, aged 70 years.

(7) NATHANIEL TRACY was born at Newbury, afterwards Newburyport, Mass., about the year 1749, and was the son of Patrick Tracy, an opulent merchant in that place. Nathaniel graduated at Harvard College, in 1769. Upon leaving college he commenced business in his native town, in company with Jonathan Jackson, an accomplished gentleman and thorough merchant. The house was prosperous, and extended its concerns to a wonderful magnitude for that day. During the war of the Revolution, their privateers were for several years numerous and successful. Mr. Tracy was generous and patriotic, and assisted the Government with money and articles of clothing, and other necessities for carrying on the war. He lived in a most magnificent style, having several country seats, with elegant summer houses and fine fish ponds. His horses were of the choicest kind,

and his coaches of the most splendid make. In the last years of the war he met with immense losses. Many of his vessels were captured, the Government failed to pay him, and his debtors, who were numerous, left him the loser of large sums by reason of similar difficulties encountered by themselves. Mr. Tracy was a gentleman of polished manners and fine taste. He died some years ago, the exact date we have been unable to ascertain.

(8) TRISTRAM DALTON was born in Newbury, Mass., in June 1738, and graduated at Harvard College in 1755. After pursuing the study of the law for a while in Salem, he married a daughter of Robert Hooper, of Marblehead, and entered into business with his father, Michael Dalton, as a merchant, in Newburyport. For many years he continued actively engaged in mercantile pursuits, after which he was called to fill some of the most responsible offices. He was a representative in Congress from Newburyport, Speaker of the House of Representatives, and a member of the Senate of Massachusetts, and lastly member of the Senate of the United States. When his term of office in Congress expired, he sold his estate, and moved to Washington, where he entered into speculations, which proving unfortunate, reduced him from affluence to poverty. He was appointed surveyor of the ports of Boston and Charlestown in 1815, and continued in the discharge of his official duties till his death. He had lived on terms of intimate friendship with the first four Presidents of the United States, and had their confidence and regard. He was a generous and warm-hearted man, and was kind and considerate to his servants, of whom he had at one time a large retinue. He died in Boston, June 1817, aged 77, and his remains were brought to his native town, and interred in the burying ground attached to St. Paul's Church.

(9) JAMES MCCORMICK, who shot Sergeant Reuben Bishop,

was a resident of North Yarmouth, and was drafted from Capt. Hill's company, Col. Scamman's Regiment. He was an ignorant and simple person, and bore in the company to which he belonged the character of a peaceful man.

(10) This fort was formed by two block houses and a large house one hundred feet long, the property of James Howard, Esq. One of the block houses, a venerable memorial of Indian wars, is still standing, near the covered bridge which stretches across the river. Judge Howard, at whose house the officers were entertained, died in May, 1787, aged 86 years. He was the first commandant at this fort, and although he reached a remarkably old age, yet one of his soldiers at this fort lived to be much older. This person was John Gilley, a native of Ireland, a singularly active and vigorous man, who enlisted about the year 1756, and died at Augusta, Me., on the 9th day of July, 1813, aged about 124 years.

(11) DANIEL MORGAN was born in New Jersey, in 1737, and moved to Virginia in 1755. He enlisted in Braddock's expedition as a private soldier, and on the defeat of that general he returned to his occupation as a farmer. At the commencement of the Revolution, he was appointed to the command of a troop of horse, and joined the army under Washington, then in the neighborhood of Boston. He distinguished himself in the expedition against Quebec, where he fell into the hands of the enemy. On the exchange of prisoners he rejoined the American army, was appointed to the command of a select rifle corps, and detached to assist Gen. Gates on the Northern frontier. To his exertions, in connection with those of Gen. Arnold, the country was indebted for the defeat and capture of Gen. Burgoyne and his army. After a short retirement from service, on account of ill

health, he was appointed Brigadier-General by brevet, and commanded at the battle of Cowpens, where he signally defeated Col. Tarleton, who commanded a superior force. A gold medal was presented to him by Congress for the brilliant part he took on this memorable occasion.

UPON THE OBTVERSE OF this medal is an Indian queen with a quiver on her back, in the act of crowning an officer with a laurel wreath. A cannon lies upon the ground. In the back ground are military weapons and implements.

LEGEND. "*Danieli Morgan duci exercitus.*"

EXERGVE. "*Comitia Americana.*"

REVERSE. An officer mounted, at the head of his troops, charging a retreating foe. A battle in the back ground. In front a personal combat between a dragoon unhorsed, and a foot soldier.

LEGEND. "*Victoria libertatis vindex.*"

EXERGVE. "*Fugatis, captis aut casis ad Cowpens hostibus, XVII. Jan. MDCCCLXXI.*"

In the year 1794, Gen. Morgan commanded the militia of Virginia, called out to suppress the insurrection in Pennsylvania, and continued in the service till 1795. He was afterwards elected to a seat in Congress. He was a brave, competent and brilliant officer. He died in the year 1799.

(12) The name of this child was Abel Farrington. He was the son of Capt. Thomas Farrington, formerly of Groton, Mass.

(13) SEBASTIAN RALLE was a French Jesuit, and arrived at Quebec in Oct., 1689, and acted as a missionary among the Indians of North America. After traveling in the interior several years, he went to Norridgewock, on the Kennebec River, where he tarried twenty-six years, and till his death. Being considered as the inveterate enemy of the English and as stimulating the

Indians to their frequent depredations, Capts. Harman and Moulton were sent in 1724 against the village in which he lived. They surprised it Aug. 23, 1724, and killed Ralle, and about thirty Indians, all of whose scalps were brought away by Harmon. The Jesuit was found in a wigwam, and he defended himself with intrepid courage. At the time of his death, he was in his 67th year. By his condescending deportment and address, he acquired an astonishing influence over the Indians. Such was his faithfulness to the political interests of France, that he ever made the offices of devotion serve as an incentive to savage ferocity, for he kept a flag on which was depicted a cross surrounded with bows and arrows, and he raised it at the door of his little church when he gave absolution, previous to the commencement of any warlike enterprise. He was a man of good sense and learning, and was particularly skilled in Latin, which he wrote with great purity, and he was acquainted also with several Indian languages. In his preaching he was vehement and pathetic. For the last nineteen years of his life his health was feeble, as his limbs had been broken by a fall. An ineffectual attempt was made to seize him in 1722, but some of his papers were secured, and among them a dictionary of the Abnâki's language, which is now in the library of Harvard College. It is a quarto volume of 500 pages. Two of his letters, of considerable length, are preserved in the "*Lettres Edifiantes*."

(14) HENRY DEARBORN was born in Hampton, N. H., on the 1st day of March, 1751. He studied medicine with Dr. Hall Jackson, of Portsmouth, and had been settled three years when the battle of Lexington occurred. He at once took up arms in behalf of his country. He was engaged in the battle of Bunker Hill, and in the month of September following, accompanied Arnold in the expedition to Quebec. He was here taken pris-

oner, and put in close confinement until May 1776, when he was permitted to return home with Major Meigs, on parole. He was exchanged in March, 1777, and was subsequently engaged in the battle of Saratoga. He was afterwards engaged in the battle of Monmouth, and in 1779 was in the expedition under Gen. Sullivan, and in 1781 was at Yorktown at the surrender of Cornwallis. In 1789 he was appointed Marshal of Maine, and was subsequently twice elected a member of Congress. On the accession of Jefferson he was appointed Secretary of War, and held the office for eight years with entire satisfaction. In Feb., 1812, he received a commission as senior Major-General in the army of the United States. He captured York, in Upper Canada, the year following, and soon after Fort George, at the mouth of the Niagara. After the peace he retired to private life. In 1822 he was appointed minister to Portugal, which office he held for about two years, and then returned home. He died at the residence of his son, Gen. H. A. S. Dearborn, in Roxbury, Mass., on the 6th June, 1829, aged 78 years.

(15) SAMUEL WARD was the son of Governor Ward, of Rhode Island, and graduated at Brown University in 1771. In the year 1774, he was enrolled in the patriot company of the Kentish Guards. As a captain, he was in the camp at Cambridge in 1775, and accompanied Arnold through the wilderness of Maine to Quebec. He was made prisoner but exchanged. As a Major in Green's Regiment, he fought at Red Bank, and served bravely during the whole war. His military operations were then exchanged for those of the merchant. He made a voyage from Providence to Canton in 1783, and then established himself in business in the city of New York. His affairs carried him to Europe. On his return he settled on a farm at East Greenwich, R. I., where he lived to see his children educated to usefulness.

At last, to be near his children, who were in business in New York, he removed to Jamaica, Long Island. Here he lived until it pleased God to remove him from earth. He died at New York, on the 16th day of August, 1832, aged 75 years. His wife was a daughter of Governor William Greene, of Rhode Island.

(16) ARCHIBALD STEELE was a man of active, courageous, sprightly, and hardy disposition. He belonged to Captain Matthew Smith's company, from the county of Lancaster, Pennsylvania.

(17) One of these dogs belonged to Gen. Dearborn. It was a very large dog, and a great favorite. In a letter to the Rev. William Allen, Dearborn says :—" I gave him up to several men of Capt. Goodrich's company on their earnest solicitation. They carried him to their company, and killed and divided him among those who were suffering most severely with hunger. They eat every part of him, not excepting the entrails ; and after finishing their meal they collected the bones, and carried them to be pounded up, and to make broth for another meal. There was but one other dog with the detachment. It was small, and had been privately killed and eaten. Old moose-hide breeches were boiled and then broiled on the coals and eaten. A barber's powder bag made a soup in the course of the last three or four days, before we reached the first settlements in Canada. Many men died with fatigue and hunger, frequently four or five minutes after making their last effort and sitting down."

(18) COL. ALLAN MACLEAN commanded the 84th Regiment, or Royal Emigrants, composed principally of those of the gallant Fraser's Highlanders, who had settled in Canada—a regiment

which was of great service to the British during the invasion by the Americans, in 1775.

(19) BRIG.-GEN. JAMES MURRAY was of an ancient Scottish family. He was the fifth son of the fourth Lord Elibank. After the capture of Montreal, he was for some years Governor of the Province. His published documents show him to have been a man of keen enquiry and observation, just and impartial in his government, though rather hasty in his temper. He was also at another period Governor of Minorca. He died a General of the army, in June, 1794, leaving a son, Col. James Patrick Murray.

(20) This person was George Merchant, of Morgan's company, a tall and handsome Virginian, a man who would at any time, give him fair play, have sold his life dearly. He was stationed as a sentinel in a thicket, within view of the enemy, but out of sight of the garrison, and in such a situation that though he could not be seen, he could see no one approach. He was taken absolutely unaware of danger. A sergeant of the "seventh," who, from the manner of the thing, must have been clever, accompanied by a few privates, sily creeping through the streets of the suburbs of St. John, and then under cover of the bushes sprung upon him, even before he had time to cock his rifle. In a few days, he, hunting-shirt and all, were sent to England, probably as a finished specimen of the *riflemen* of the colonies. The Government there very liberally sent him home in the following year. Merchant was the first prisoner taken at Quebec by the British.

Henry's Journal, p. 86.

(21) MONTREAL, which was entirely defenceless, there being but very few British troops in the colony, capitulated on the

12th day of November, 1775, and Sir Guy Carleton, the Governor, conceiving it of the utmost importance to reach Quebec, the only place capable of defence, passed through the American forces at Sorel, during the night, in a canoe, with muffled paddles, and arrived in Quebec on the 19th, to the great joy of the garrison and loyal inhabitants, who placed every confidence in his well known courage and ability.

Hawkin s' Picture of Quebec, p. 423.

SIR GUY CARLETON was born at Newry, in the County of Down, in Ireland, in 1722. Having entered upon the military life, he rose to be Lieut.-Colonel in the guards in 1748. He served afterwards with General Amherst, in America, and in 1762 distinguished himself at the taking of Havannah, where he was wounded. In 1772 he obtained the rank of Major-General, and was appointed Governor of Quebec, which he successfully defended against the Americans under Gen. Montgomery. By his exertions, afterwards, he saved the whole of Canada, for which act he was made Knight of the Bath in 1776. The next year he became a Lieut.-General, and in 1781 he was appointed commander-in-chief in America, where he remained till the termination of the war. In 1786 he was again nominated Governor of Quebec, and was at the same time created Lord Dorchester. He married in the year 1772, Maria, daughter of the Earl of Effingham, and died in the year 1808, aged 86, and was succeeded in his titles by his grandson. Gen. Carleton was an able officer, of sound judgment, and distinguished for his humanity.

(22) SERGEANT DIXON was a man of good education. He was a farmer by occupation, and was possessed of a good estate in W. Hanover, Lancaster Co., (now Dauphin Co.,) Pennsylvania. He was the first man who fell at Quebec. He was struck by a 36 pound ball which took off his leg below the knee, and carried

away the bones of that part entirely. He was conveyed upon a litter, to the house of an English gentleman, about a mile off. An amputation took place—a tetanus followed, which, about nine o'clock of the ensuing day, ended in the dissolution of this honorable citizen and soldier. An anecdote of him is well worthy of record, showing, as it does, his patriotic character. The lady of the house where he was taken, though not approving of the principles or actions of the Americans, was nevertheless very attentive to Dixon, and presented him with a cup of tea, which he declined, saying, "No, madam, I cannot take it—it is the ruin of my country." Uttering this noble sentiment, he died, sincerely lamented by every one who had the opportunity of knowing his virtues.

Henry's Journal, p. 92-93.

(23) When Gen. Montgomery took possession of the city of Montreal, on the 13th day of November, the naval force in the river was surrendered into his hand, and Gen. Prescott, with the volunteers and soldiers who had taken refuge on board, became prisoners of war. Montgomery found plenty of woollen manufactures in Montreal, and took the opportunity of new-clothing his troops, who had suffered excessively from the severity of the climate, the badness of the roads, and the want of suitable wearing apparel.

Bosworth's History of Montreal, page 75.

(24) MAJOR JOHN BROWN was born in Sandisfield, Berkshire Co., Mass., on the 19th day of October, 1744. After graduating at Yale College in 1771, he studied law with Oliver Arnold in Providence. He was a delegate to the Provincial Congress in 1775, and afterwards was at the attack on Quebec, where he rendered important services. He was appointed Lieut.-Colonel by Congress, in 1776. In the fall of 1780, he marched up the Mo-

hawk for the relief of Gen. Schuyler, but was led by a traitor into an ambuscade of Canadians, Tories and Indians, at Stone Arabia in Palestine, and was slain, on his birth-day, October 19, 1780, aged 36.

(25) **TITUS HOSMER**, of Middletown, was born in the year 1736, and graduated at Yale in 1757. He was for many years a representative of the Connecticut Legislature, was chosen a member of the Council in 1778, and was elected three times in succession a member of the Continental Congress. In 1777, he was speaker of the house. In January, 1777, he was appointed by Congress a Judge of the Court of Appeals for the revision of maritime and admiralty cases. In his mature years, he was regarded as one of the greatest men in the State. He died on the 4th day of August, 1780, aged 44 years.

(26) **COL. JAMES LIVINGSTON** was a native of New York. He had long resided in Canada, and was appointed to the command of a regiment of Canadians which had been formed by General Montgomery.

(27) **REV. SAMUEL SPRING, D.D.**, was born in Northbridge, Mass., on the 27th day of February, 1746, and graduated at Princeton College, in 1771. He was the only chaplain in Arnold's detachment that penetrated the wilderness of Maine to Quebec in 1775. On his return, in 1776, he left the army, and was ordained as a minister on the 6th day of August, 1777. He was one of the founders of the Massachusetts Missionary Society, and held the office of President of that institution. He assisted also in founding the Theological Seminary at Andover, and the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. He was distinguished for metaphysical acuteness. He was the

author of several works. He was a minister in Newburyport for many years, and was an attractive preacher. He died on the 4th day of March, 1819, aged 73 years. He was the father of the Rev. Gardiner Spring, Pastor of the Brick Church in this city.

(28) The city of Quebec is situated on a promontory on the north-west side of the St. Lawrence, formed by that river and the St. Charles. The extremity of the head-land is called Cape Diamond, whose highest point rises 345 feet above the level of the water. On the cape is erected the famous CITADEL of Quebec—a formidable combination of powerful military works—frequently called the “*Gibraltar of America*.”

(29) COL. CAMPBELL, being next in lineal rank to Montgomery, assumed the command of the army after the death of that General—a position for which he was totally unqualified, for instead of inspiring the troops and pressing on the victory half won, he was entirely disconcerted by the sudden loss of the commander, and ordered a retreat, leaving behind him the bodies of the General, his two aids, and twelve others of the detachment, unburied and uncared for.

Life and Times of Gen. Lamb, p. 128.

(30) JOHN LAMB was born in the city of New-York on the 1st January, in the year 1735. His father was Anthony Lamb, a celebrated optician and mathematical instrument maker. In his early youth, John followed the occupation of his father. He afterwards became a merchant. In the war of the Revolution, he took an active part, and was one of the most zealous leaders of the sons of liberty. As a captain of artillery, he joined the expedition against Quebec in the year 1775, where he was severely wounded and taken prisoner. He was afterward pro-

moted to the rank of Major, and in the year 1777 advanced to that of Lieut.-Colonel. He was at the attack on Danbury, where he was again wounded, and narrowly escaped death. In the year 1780 he had command of the artillery at West Point. He was afterwards promoted to the rank of Brig.-General. General Lamb was a valiant soldier, a pure patriot, and an able and energetic officer. He died on the 31st day of May, in the year 1800, and his remains were buried in Trinity Church-yard, in the city of New York.

(31) MATTHIAS OGDEN joined the army at Cambridge. He was engaged in the attack upon Quebec under Arnold, and was carried wounded from the place of engagement. On his return from this expedition, he was appointed to the command of a regiment, in which station he continued until the conclusion of the war. On the occurrence of peace, he was honored by Congress with a commission of Brig.-General. He died at Elizabethtown, N. J., in the year 1791.

(32) The following facts, taken from Hawkins' Picture of Quebec, (pages 439-40,) relating to the disinterment of the remains of Gen. Montgomery, are unquestionably authentic.

In the year 1818 a request was made of the Governor-in-Chief, Sir John Sherbrooke, on behalf of Mrs. Montgomery, the widow of the General, for leave to disinter the remains of Gen. Montgomery, in order that they might be conveyed to the city of New York, and there re-interred, to which His Excellency acceded.

Mr. James Thompson, a gentleman of respectability, then in his 84th year, who bore arms during the siege of the winter of 1775-6, in defence of the city of Quebec, and was present when the body was found, and saw it afterwards interred, was now

ordered to explore the place of interment and dig up the remains. This he accordingly did, in the presence of one of his Excellency's aids-de-camp, Capt. Freer ; and although the spot where the body had been deposited was entirely altered in appearance, from the demolition of an old building or powder magazine which was near it, and the subsequent construction of a range of barracks, he hit upon the foot of the coffin, which was much decayed, but of the identity whereof, there could not be a doubt, no other body having been interred in its immediate neighborhood, except those of the General's two aids, McPherson and Cheeseman, which were placed on each side of their commander's body, in their clothes, and without coffins.

Mr. Thompson gave the following certificate of the facts, in order to satisfy the surviving relatives and friends of Gen. Montgomery, that the remains which had been disinterred after the lapse of forty-two years, by the same hand that had interred them, were really those of the late General :

“ I, James Thompson, of the City of Quebec, in the Province of Lower Canada, do testify and declare—that I served in the capacity of Assistant-Engineer during the siege of this city, invested during the years 1775 and 1776 by the American forces, under command of the late Major-Gen. Richard Montgomery. That in an attack made by the American troops, under the immediate command of General Montgomery, in the night of the 31st December, 1775, on a British post at the southernmost extremity of the city, near *Près-de-Ville*, the General received a mortal wound, and with him were killed his aids-de-camp, McPherson and Cheeseman, who were found in the morning of the 1st January, 1776, almost covered with snow.

That Mrs. Prentice, who kept an hotel at Quebec, and with whom General Montgomery had previously boarded, was brought

to view the body, after it was placed in the Guard-Room, and which she recognized by a particular mark which he had on the side of his head, to be the General's.

That the body was then conveyed to a house (Gobert's *), by order of Mr. Cramahé, who provided a genteel coffin for the General's body, which was lined inside with flannel, and outside of it with black cloth. That in the night of the 4th of January, it was conveyed by me from Gobert's house, and was interred six feet in front of the gate, within a wall that surrounded a powder magazine, near the ramparts bounding on St. Lewis-Gate.

That the funeral service was performed at the grave, by the Reverend Mr. de Montmolin, then chaplain of the garrison.

That his two aids-de-camp were buried in their clothes, without any coffins, and that no person was buried within twenty-five yards of the General.

That I am positive, and can testify and declare, that the coffin of the late General Montgomery, taken up on the morning of the 16th of the present month of June, 1818, is the identical coffin deposited by me on the day of his burial, and that the present coffin contains the remains of the late General.

I do further testify and declare, that subsequently to the finding of General Montgomery's body, I wore his sword, being lighter than my own, and on going to the Seminary, where the American officers were lodged, they recognized the sword, which affected them so much that numbers of them wept, in consequence of which, I have never worn the sword since.

Given under my hand, at the City of Quebec, Province of Lower Canada, 19th June, 1818.

JAMES THOMPSON.

* Gobert's house was at the corner of St. Lewis and St. Ursule Streets, on the site of the house now numbered 42, St. Lewis Street.

(33) GEN. RICHARD MONTGOMERY was born in the north of Ireland, in the year 1737. He fought under General Wolfe at the battle of Quebec in the year 1759, as Captain in the 17th Regiment of foot, and after his return to England, he quitted his regiment in the year 1772, though in a fair way to preferment. He came to America, and, on his arrival in this country, purchased an estate in New-York, and married a daughter of Judge Livingston, of Livingston's manor. On the breaking out of the Revolution, he was placed in command of the Continental forces in the Northern Department, in connection with General Schuyler. By the indisposition of Schuyler, the chief command devolved upon him. He reduced Fort Chamblee, and on the 3d day of November, 1775, he captured St. Johns, and on the 12th took Montreal. In the month of December following, he marched to the city of Quebec. The city was besieged, and on the last day of the year it was determined to make an assault upon it. The several divisions were accordingly put in motion in the midst of a heavy fall of snow, which concealed them from the enemy. Montgomery advanced at the head of the New-York troops along the St. Lawrence, and approaching one of the barriers, he was pushing forward, when one of the guns of the battery was discharged, and he, with his two aids, McPherson and Cheeseman, was killed, on the 31st day of Dec., 1775, at the age of 38. This event, probably, prevented the capture of Quebec. Montgomery was a man of fine military talents, and his measures were taken with judgment and executed with vigor. He inspired his troops with his own enthusiasm, and shared with them in all their hardships.

His well known character was equally esteemed by the friends and foes of the side which he had espoused. In America he was celebrated as a martyr to the liberties of mankind; in Great Britain as a misguided good man, sacrificing to what he supposed to be the rights of his country. His name was men-

tioned in Parliament with singular respect. Some of the most powerful speakers in that assembly displayed their eloquence in sounding his praise and lamenting his fate.

By direction of Congress, a monument of white marble, with emblematic devices, was executed by Mr. Cassiers, at Paris, and it was erected to his memory in front of St. Paul's Church, in the City of New-York. His remains were, by act of the Legislature of the State of New-York, taken up by his nephew, Col. L. Livingston, in the month of June, 1818—the place of burial being pointed out by an old soldier, who attended the interment 42 years before—and were conveyed to the city of New-York, where they were again committed to the dust in St. Paul's Church-yard, with the highest civil and military honors. At that time, his widow was still alive.

